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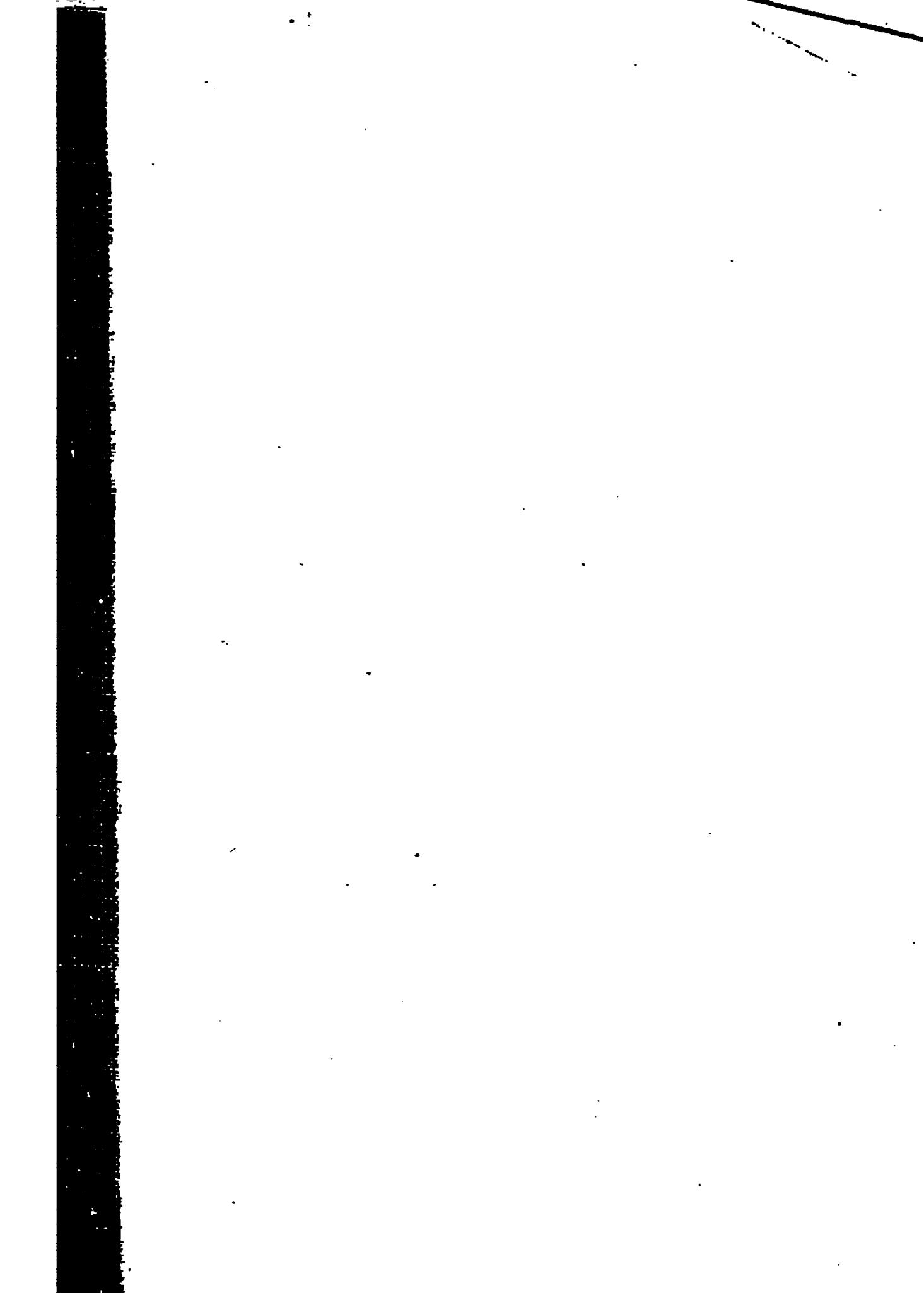
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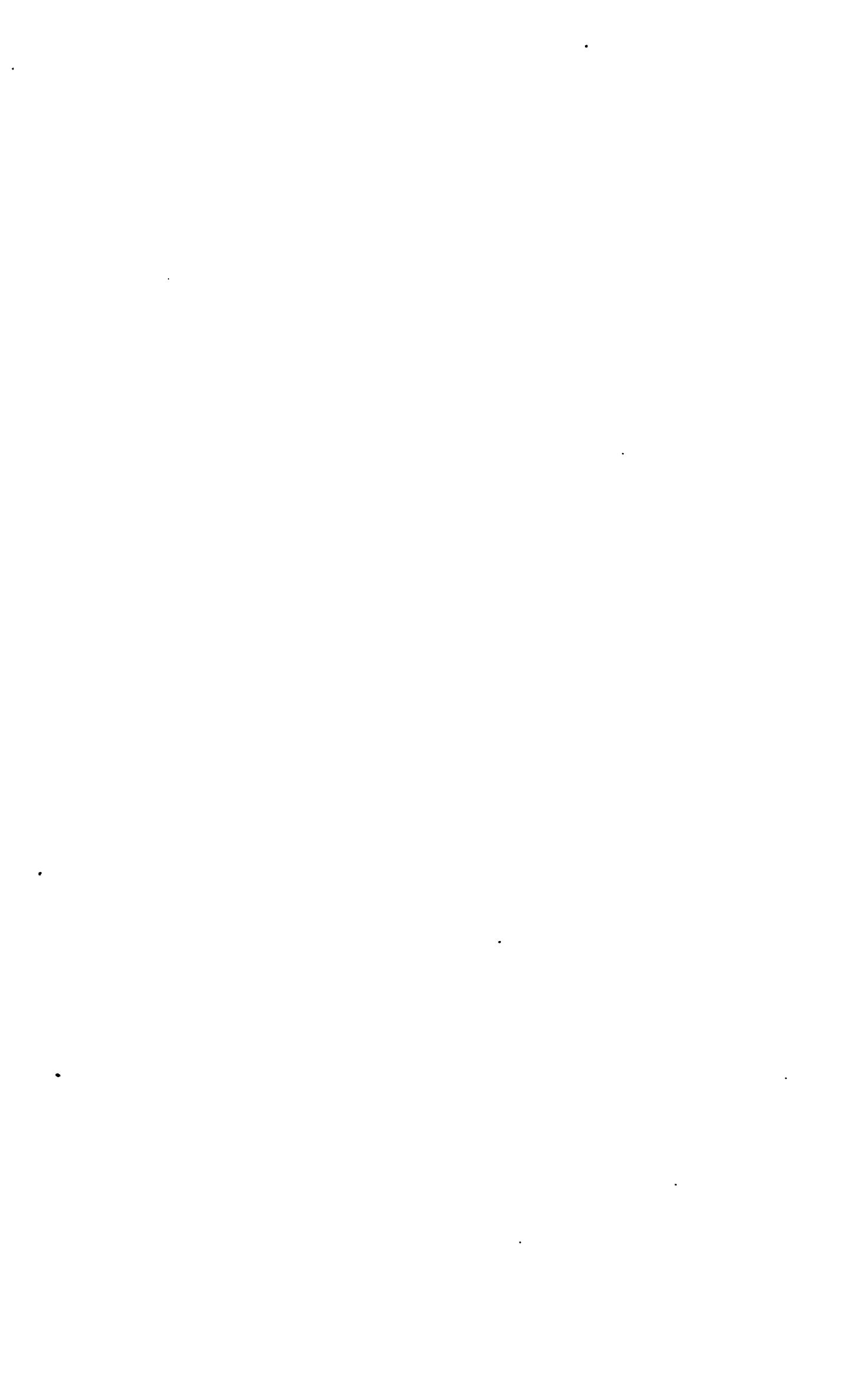
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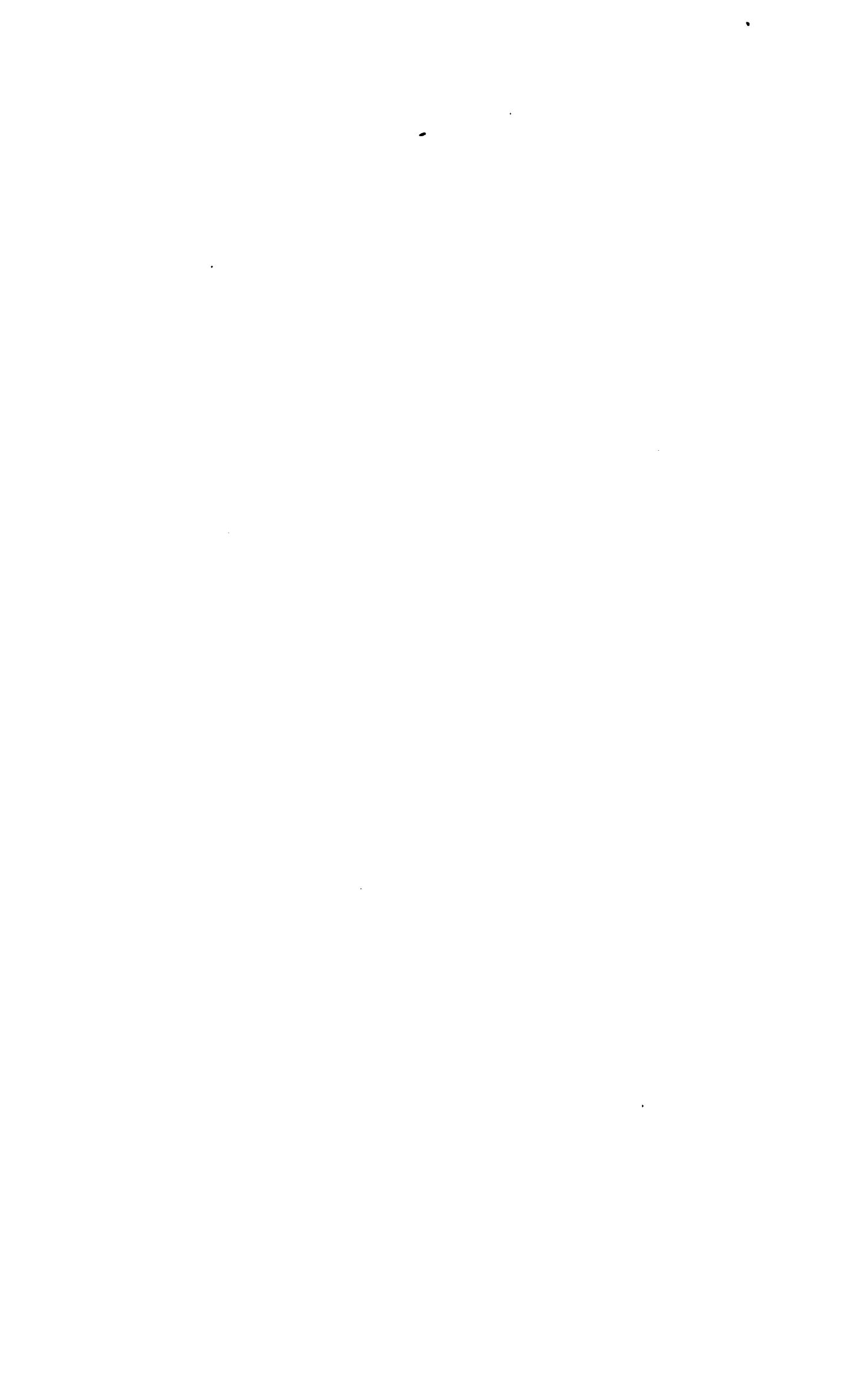
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INTRODUCTION

say that where Herodotus gives most local detail he is least assailable. The story of Marathon is very briefly told, and it has been left for moderns to fill in what was lacking or explain what brevity makes obscure ; but the full and detailed description of Thermopylae is verifiable to-day. Of course one cannot argue with certainty from such instances to the credibility of everything. But they are at least encouraging ; and make any candid reader, in respect of those parts of the narrative where Herodotus is the sole witness, incline rather to belief in the first of historians than in those who would reconstruct history on the precarious basis of *a priori* probability.

HERODOTUS
BOOK V

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B

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παρὰ σφέας, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ ἵρα οὐ προεχώρεε
χρηστὰ θυομένῳ ἐπὶ Κρότωνα.

45. Ταῦτα δὲ οὗτοι λέγουσι. μαρτύρια δὲ τούτων ἔκάτεροι ἀποδεικνύουσι τάδε, Συβαρῖται μὲν τέμενός τε καὶ νηὸν ἔόντα παρὰ τὸν ξηρὸν Κράθιν, τὸν ἴδρυσασθαι συνελόντα τὴν πόλιν Δωριέα λέγουσι Ἀθηναίη ἐπωνύμῳ Κραθίῃ· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ Δωριέος τὸν θάνατον μαρτύριον μέγιστον ποιεῦνται, ὅτι παρὰ τὰ μεμαντευμένα ποιέων διεφθάρη εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίεε, εἰλε ἀν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώρην καὶ ἐλῶν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἀν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη. οἱ δὲ αὖ Κροτωνιῆται ἀποδεικνύσι Καλλίη μὲν τῷ Ἡλείῳ ἐξαίρετα ἐν γῇ τῇ Κροτωνίτιδι πολλὰ δοθέντα, τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι, Δωριέι δὲ καὶ τοῖσι Δωριέος ἀπογόνοισι οὐδέν. καίτοι εἰ συνεπελάβετό γε τοῦ Συβαριτικοῦ πολέμου Δωριεύς, δοθῆναι ἄν οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἡ Καλλίη. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἔκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται, καὶ πάρεστι, ὁκοτέροισί τις πείθεται αὐτῶν, τούτοισι προσχωρέειν.

46. Συνέπλεον δὲ Δωριέι καὶ ἄλλοι συγκτίσται Σπαρτιητέων, Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Παραιβάτης καὶ Κελέης καὶ Εύρυλέων οἱ ἐπείτε ἀπίκουτο παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς τὴν Σικελίην, ἀπέθανον μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες ὑπό τε Φοινίκων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων· μοῦνος δὲ Εύρυλέων τῶν συγκτιστέων περιεγένετο τούτου τοῦ πάθεος. συλλαβὼν δὲ οὗτος τῆς στρατιῆς τοὺς περιγενομένους ἔσχε Μινώην τὴν Σελινουσίων ἀποικίην, καὶ συνελευθέρου Σελινουσίους τοῦ μοννάρχου Πειθαγόρεω. μετὰ δὲ ὡς τοῦτον κατεῖλε, αὐτὸς τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε Σελινοῦντος



BOOK VI

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καταθρώσκοντα δὲ τὴν αἵμασιὴν τὸν μηρὸν σπασθῆναι· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ γόνυ προσπταῖσαι λέγουσι.

135. Μιλτιάδης μέν νυν φλαύρως ἔχων ἀπέπλεε ὅπίσω, οὔτε χρήματα Ἀθηναίοισι ἄγων οὔτε Πάρον προσκτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολιορκήσας τε ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας καὶ δηιώσας τὴν νῆσον. Πάριοι δὲ πιθόμενοι ως ἡ ὑποζάκορος τῶν θεῶν Τιμὼ Μιλτιάδῃ κατηγήσατο, βουλόμενοί μιν ἀντὶ τούτων τιμωρήσασθαι, θεοπρόπους πέμπουσι ἐς Δελφούς ως σφεας ἡσυχίη τῆς πολιορκίης ἔσχε· ἔπειμπον δὲ ἐπειρησομένους εἰ καταχρήσωνται τὴν ὑποζάκορον τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἔξηγησαμένην τοῖσι ἔχθροῖσι τῆς πατρίδος ἄλωσιν καὶ τὰ ἐρσενα γόνον ἄρρητα ἵρα ἐκφήνασαν Μιλτιάδῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα, φᾶσα οὐ Τιμοῦν εἶναι τὴν αἵτιην τούτων, ἀλλὰ δεῖν γὰρ Μιλτιάδεα τελευτᾶν μὴ εὖ, φανῆναι οἱ τῶν κακῶν κατηγεμόνα.

136. Παρίοισι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ Πάρου Μιλτιάδεα ἀπονοστήσαντα ἔσχον ἐν στόμασι οἴ τε ἄλλοι καὶ μάλιστα Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος, ὃς θανάτου ὑπαγαγὼν ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον Μιλτιάδεα ἐδίωκε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπάτης εἴνεκεν. Μιλτιάδης δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν παρεὼν οὐκ ἀπελογέετο· ἦν γὰρ ἀδύνατος ὥστε σηπομένου τοῦ μηροῦ προκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν κλίνῃ ὑπεραπελογέοντο οἱ φίλοι, τῆς μάχης τε τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης πολλὰ ἐπιμεμυημένοι καὶ τὴν Λήμνου αἴρεσιν, ώς ἐλών Λήμνον τε καὶ τισάμενος τοὺς Πελασγοὺς παρέδωκε Ἀθηναίοισι. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ θανάτου, ζημιώσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀδικίην πεντήκοντα ταλάντοισι, Μιλτιάδης μὲν



BOOK VII

H

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγελίη ἀπίκετο περὶ τῆς μάχης τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένης παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὀστάσπεος, καὶ πρὶν μεγάλως κεχαραγμένον τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τὴν ἐσβολήν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε πολλῷ τε δεινότερα ἐποίεε καὶ μᾶλλον ὅρμητο στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο πέμπων ἀγγέλους κατὰ πόλις ἔτοιμάζειν στρατιήν, πολλῷ πλέω ἐπιτάσσων ἕκαστοισι ἡ πρότερον παρέχειν, καὶ νέας τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ σῖτον καὶ πλοῖα. τούτων δὲ περιαγγελλομένων ἡ Ἀσίη ἐδονέετο ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, καταλεγομένων τε τῶν ἀρίστων ώς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευομένων καὶ παρασκευαζομένων. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω δουλωθέντες ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσέων. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὅρμητο καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους στρατεύεσθαι.

2. Στελλομένου δὲ Δαρείου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀθήνας, τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ στάσις ἐγένετο μεγάλη περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ώς δεῖ μν ἀποδέξαντα βασιλέα κατὰ τὸν Περσέων νόμον οὗτω στρατεύεσθαι. ἥσαν γὰρ Δαρείῳ καὶ πρότερον ἡ βασιλεῦσαι γεγονότες τρεῖς παῖδες ἐκ τῆς

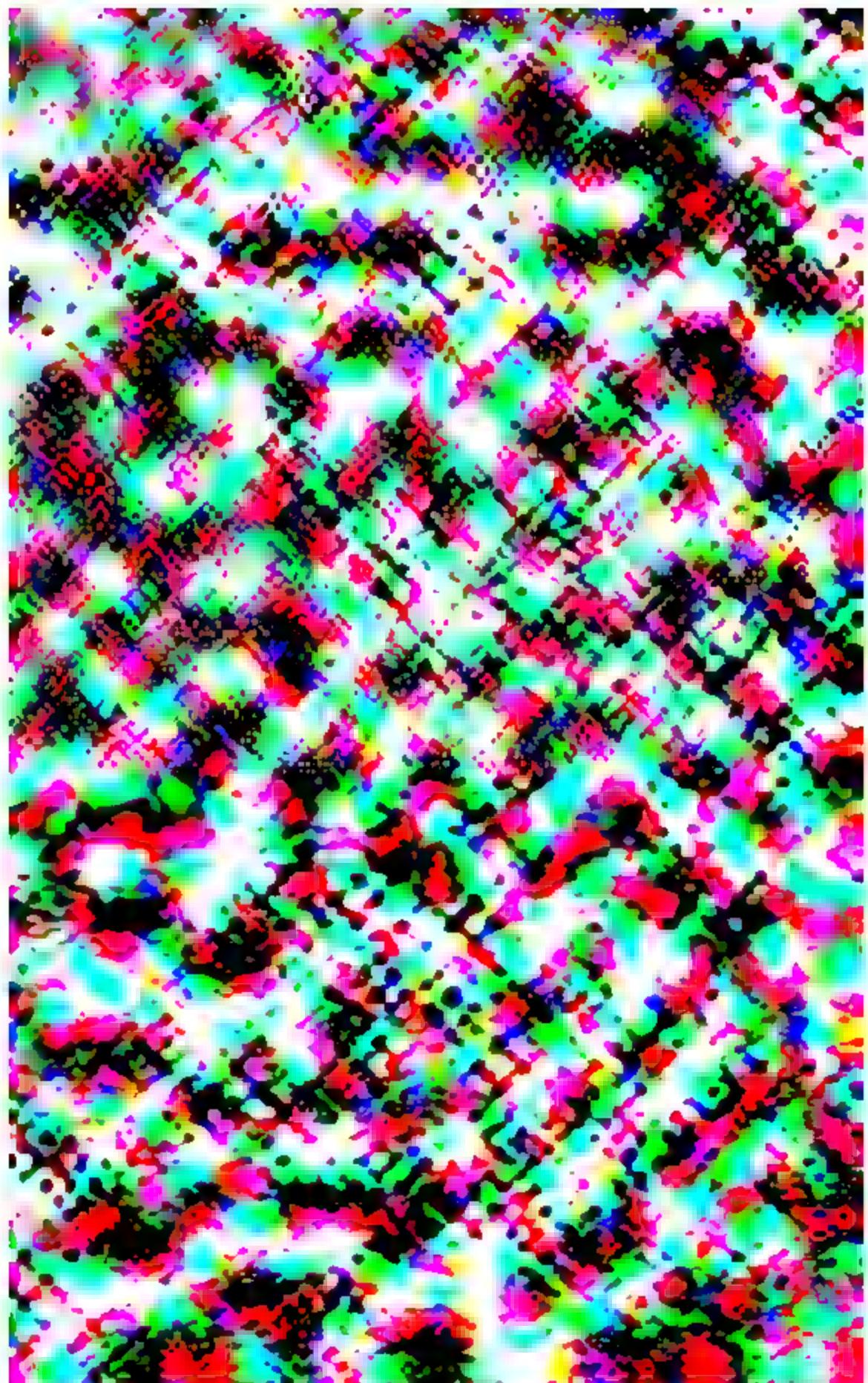
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4. Ἀποδέξας δὲ βασιλέα Πέρσησι Ξέρξεα Δαρεῖος ὄρμάτο στρατεύεσθαι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα τε καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπόστασιν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει παρασκευαζόμενον συνήνεικε αὐτὸν Δαρεῖον, οἵαςι λεύσαντα τὰ πάντα ἔξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα ἔτεα, ἀποθανεῖν, οὐδέ οἱ ἐξεγένετο οὕτε τοὺς ἀπευτεώτας Αἰγυπτίους οὕτε Ἀθηναίους τιμωρήσασθαι.

5. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληίη ἀντιληφθεὶς ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξην. ὁ τυντευχός Ξέρξης ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδαμῶς παντεύμος ἦν κατ' ἀρχὰς στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτου ἐποιέετο στρατιῆς ἄγερσιν. παρεὼν τοιίς δυνάμενος παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον Περσέων Λιβυνίον ὁ Γοθρύεω, ὃς ἦν Ξέρξη μὲν ἀνεψιὸς τινας εἴησεν δὲ ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, τοιούτου λόγου εἶχετο, λέγων "Δέσποτα, οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι Ἀθηναίους τοιαντανέντες πολλὰ δὴ κακὰ Πέρσας μὴ οὐ τινας δινεγκαντον τῶν ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' εἰ τὸ μὲν τοῦτον οὐδεμίστοις τά περ ἐν χερσὶ ἔχεις· ἡμερώσας τοῦτον τοιούτου τοιούτου ξυθρίσασαν στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ τοῦτον τοιούτου, ἵνα λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ιδιοτήτων, τοιίς τις ὕστερον φυλάσσονται ἐπὶ γῆν τοῦτον οὐδὲ οὐτριτεύεσθαι." οὗτος μέν οἱ ὁ λόγος ἢν τιμωρίᾳ τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ λόγου παρενθήκην ποιεύσετο τοῦτο τοῦτο, ὡς η Εὐρώπη περικαλλής εἴη χώμη, καὶ δένδρεα παντοῖα φέρει τὰ ἥμερα, ἀρετὴν τε ἄκρη, βασιλέα τε μούνῳ θυητῶν ἀξίη ἐκτίθεαι.

6. Ταῦτα ἔλεγε οἷα νεωτέρων ἔργων ἐπιθυμητῆς ἐῶν καὶ θέλων αὐτὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπαρχος εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ κατεργάσατό τε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ὥστε

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BOOK VII. 142-143

and departed back to Athens. So when the messengers had left Delphi and laid the oracle before the people, there was much enquiry concerning its meaning, and there were two contrary opinions in especial among the many that were uttered. Some of the elder men said that the god's answer signified that the acropolis should be saved; for in old time the acropolis of Athens had been fenced by a thorn hedge, and by their interpretation it was this fence that was the wooden wall. But others supposed that the god signified their ships, and they were for doing nought else but equip these. They then that held their ships to be the wooden wall were disabled by the two last verses of the priestess' answer:

Salamis, isle divine! 'tis writ that children of
women
Thou shalt destroy one day, in the season of seed-
time or harvest.

These verses confounded the opinion of those who said that their ships were the wooden wall; for the readers of oracles took the verses to mean, that they should offer battle by sea near Salamis and be there overthrown.

143. Now there was a certain Athenian, by name and title Themistocles son of Neocles, who had lately risen to be among their chief men. He said, that the readers of oracles had not rightly interpreted the whole; and this was his plea: had the verse been verily spoken of the Athenians, the oracle had used a word less mild of import, and had called Salamis rather "cruel" than "divine," if indeed the dwellers in that place were in it and for it to perish; nay (said he), rightly understood, the god's oracle

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οἱ δὲ συνωμόται Ἐλλήνων ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπεμψιν τῶν κατασκόπων δεύτερα ἔπειμπον ἐς Ἀργος ἀγγέλους. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ λέγουσι τὰ κατ' ἑωυτοὺς γενέσθαι ὡδε. πυθέσθαι γὰρ αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐγειρόμενα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, πυθόμενοι δέ, καὶ μαθόντες ὡς σφέας οἱ Ἐλληνες πειρήσονται παραλαμβάνοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Πέρσην, πέμψαι θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους ὡς σφι μέλλει ἄριστον ποιέουσι γενέσθαι· νεωστὶ γὰρ σφέων τεθνάναι ἔξαποσχιλίους ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κλεομένεος τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὴ εἴνεκα πέμπειν. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε.

ἔχθρε περικτιόνεσσι, φίλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν,
εἴσω τὸν προβόλαιον ἔχων πεφυλαγμένος ἥσο
καὶ κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο· κάρη δὲ τὸ σῶμα
σαώσει.

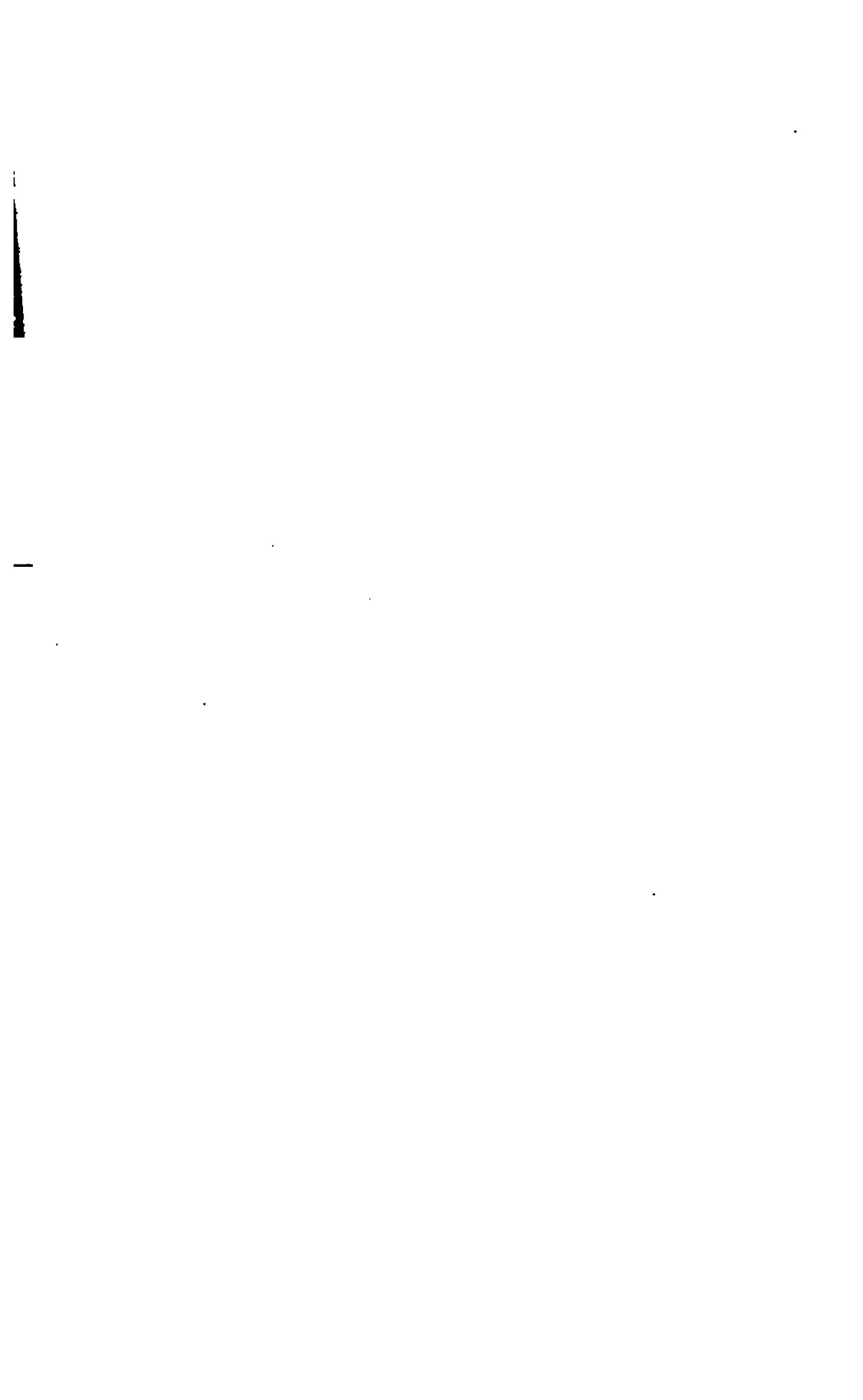
ταῦτα μὲν τὴν Πυθίην χρῆσαι πρότερον μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἀγγέλους ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἀργος, ἐπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ λέγειν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἔτοιμοι εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ ἥγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης. καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἥγεμονίην ἑωυτῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως σφίσι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἥγεομένοισι.

149. Ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι τὴν βουλὴν ὑποκρίνα-

¹ In the battle of Tiryns, 494; cp. VI. 77.

² That is, those with full citizenship, the nucleus of the population; *σῶμα* being the remainder.





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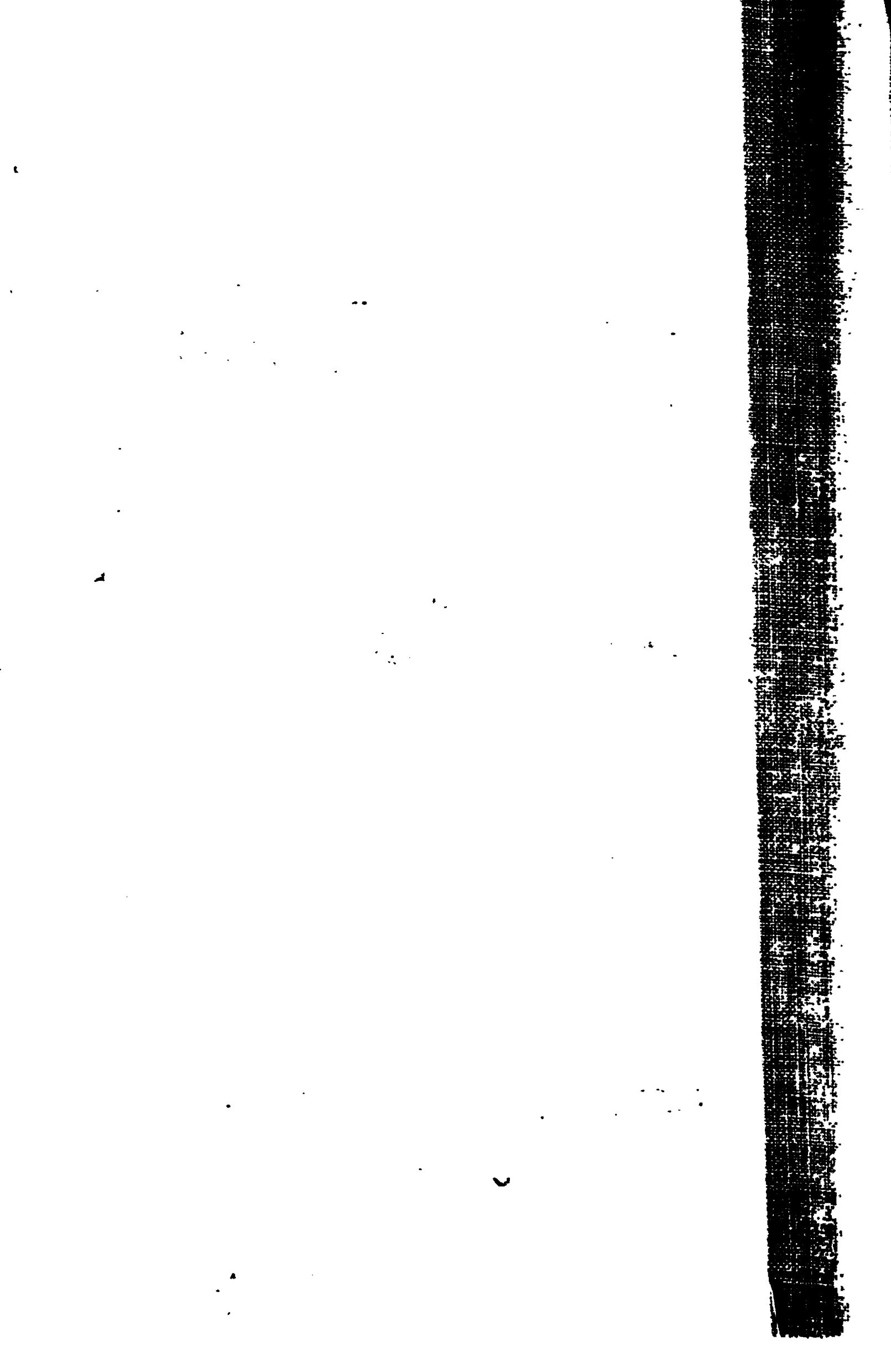
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